

# The National Covenant: A List of Known Copies

DAVID STEVENSON, B.A., Ph.D.

The 350th anniversary of the National Covenant seems an appropriate time for a survey of surviving copies of the document. The last such list was published in 1913 and since then some copies have disappeared without trace, others previously unknown have been located, and a large number of known copies have changed location or ownership. All the covenants listed (except, obviously, those listed as lost!) have been examined by me in preparing this list, apart from 7.1, 7.2, and 13.1.

## *Scope*

The list seeks to include all surviving copies of the covenant which were signed, or written with the intention that they should be signed, in the years during which the covenanters controlled Scotland, 1638-51.

The great majority date from the years 1638-9, but a few later copies exist — most notably those reluctantly signed by Charles II in 1650-1 (5.2, 14.5, 16.6). Later copies signed by religious groups who revived the covenants are excluded, and so too are printed and manuscript copies made in 1638-51 without any intention that they should be signed. Some unsigned copies (e.g., 1.4, 8.4) are listed, because their form makes it clear that they were intended for signature.

## *Format of entries*

Information in the individual entries in the list is arranged as follows:

Reference Number and present location of the covenant. If an asterisk follows the number this indicates that the covenant has not been examined by me personally in compiling this list (though it has not been thought necessary to indicate this for covenants listed as missing!).

Provenance (former locations and owners).

Size (approximate maximum — many covenants are very uneven in shape, and the exact size of framed copies is often concealed. length × width): material (parchment unless otherwise stated): ornamentation (plain text, unless otherwise stated): condition; how kept (folded or flat, unless otherwise stated).

Writer.

Text (the basic text of February 1638 is assumed, the addition of the texts of, or of references to, the December 1638 Glasgow Determination or of the acts of the General

Assembly and Privy Council of August 1639 being noted. If the Glasgow Determination is an addition to a previously written and signed text this is indicated).

Signatures (number, and when and where signed. Where all or some of the “signatures” are provided by notaries public for those who could not write this is noted).

Reference number in the “Hewison 3” list (see below) and in other lists if they provide information not supplied by Hewison.

References to general publication giving information about the covenant, providing lists of signatures, photocopies or facsimiles.

### *Order of entries*

The order is based on the present location of the covenants, starting with the main public archives in Edinburgh and then moving round Scotland by regions, and ending up with England; Overseas; and Missing. The reference numbers, printed at the beginning of each entry, have two elements: a number indicating the location (archive or region), followed after a full stop by a number identifying the specific copy. The advantage of this arrangement is that other copies of the covenant which turn up in future can be slotted in and provided with numbers in the appropriate places. An Appendix lists copies of the King’s Covenant of 1638 which is often confused with the National Covenant. It is, incidentally, possible that one or two covenants have been listed twice, copies which appear as Missing and of which few details are known being identical with recently discovered ones whose origins are obscure:

Locations are specified as follows:

1. EDINBURGH: Scottish Record Office.
2. EDINBURGH: National Library of Scotland.
3. EDINBURGH: Edinburgh University Library.
4. EDINBURGH: General.
5. LoTHIAN.
6. BORDERS.
7. DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY.
8. STRATHCLYDE.
9. CENTRAL.
10. FIFE.
11. TAYSIDE.
12. GRAMPIAN.
13. HIGHLAND.
14. ENGLAND.
15. OVERSEAS.
16. MISSING, LOST, SUPPOSITITIOUS.
17. APPENDIX: THE KING’S COVENANT.

## Previous Lists of the National Covenant.

- Account: "An Account of the Names of some of the Persons who have Original Copies of our Covenants, National and Solemn League", early 18th century, Edinburgh University Library, Laing Ms. III. 229. Printed in David Laing, "The Names of Some of the Persons who have Original Copies of our Covenants, National and Solemn League", *PSAS*, iv (1860-62), 238-40.
- Laing: List compiled by David Laing and read to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1847: printed in the above article, 245-48.
- Hewison 1: James King Hewison, "'Bands' or Covenants in Scotland, with a List of Extant Copies of the Scottish Covenant", *PSAS*, xlii (1907-08), 170-79.
- Hewison 2: James King Hewison, "Extant Copies of the Scottish Covenants", *The Covenanters. A History of the Church of Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution* (1st edition, 2 vols., Glasgow, 1908), i, 481-90.
- Hewison 3: "Extant Copies of the Scottish Covenants", *Ibid.* (2nd edition, 2 vols., Glasgow, 1913), i, 481-90. In the present list Hewison 3 references are given, and an asterisk (\*) is added to indicate cases in which Hewison 3 transcribes some signatures (sometimes only one or two) not transcribed in the new list.
- Hewison 4: Hewison's own copy of the first (1908) edition of *The Covenanters* contains many annotations and additions made by him to Hewison 2. In the Library of New College, Edinburgh.
- SRO, List: Small Source List No. 12: List of Extant Copies of the National Covenant of 1638.

Hewison 3 is the best of the published lists, but it is confusing in that it includes copies of earlier documents which have anachronistically become known as covenants, and copies of the King's Covenant of 1638. References to the other lists noted above are only given in the present list if they give information not found in Hewison 3.

The present list includes all the copies of the National Covenant included in the last six of the seven earlier lists noted above, even though some of these are now missing. Copies listed in the "Account" which do not appear on subsequent lists have, however, been omitted, as so little information about them is given

in the Account that it would be impossible to identify them. Some of them may appear in the present list, but without evidence to link them with the Account's descriptions.

The number of formerly recorded covenants which cannot now be located is distressing. But it is likely that most of them still exist, and will in time be re-discovered. Many new covenants appear on the present list which have never been listed before, and others doubtless exist but are as yet unrecorded.

### *Abbreviations*

The abbreviated names of earlier lists of covenants given above are used, together with the following:

Fleming, "Subscribing"	D. H. Fleming, "The Subscribing of the National Covenant in 1638", in W. M. Bryce, <i>History of the Old Greyfriars Church</i> (Edinburgh, 1912), 55-87.
Hewison, <i>Covenanters</i>	J. K. Hewison, <i>The Covenanters</i> (2nd ed., 2 vols., Glasgow, 1913).
Houston, <i>Literacy</i>	R. A. B. Houston, <i>Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity</i> (Cambridge, 1985).
NLS	National Library of Scotland.
NRA (S)	National Register of Archives (Scotland).
PSAS	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland</i> .
Peterkin, <i>Records</i>	A. Peterkin (ed.), <i>Records of the Kirk of Scotland</i> (Edinburgh, 1838).
Roths, <i>Relation</i>	John Leslie, Earl of Roths, <i>A Relation of Proceedings concerning the Kirk of Scotland</i> (Bannatyne Club, 1830).
RPCS	<i>Register of the Privy Council of Scotland</i> .
SRO	Scottish Record Office.
TDGNHAS	<i>Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society</i> .

*Houston, Literacy*, 84-105, 138, 285-94 discusses the value of the covenants as evidence for the study of literacy.

### *The Signing of the National Covenant*

The compiling of the document that became known as the National Covenant was entrusted to Archibald Johnston of Wariston and Alexander Henderson on 23 February 1638. On 24



and 26 February drafts were revised by leading noble opponents of Charles I. After further consideration by them on 27 February, Wariston having read out the revised text, the document was taken to the Tailors' Hall, where the ministers of the kirk were meeting. In a summer-house in the garden it was read to commissioners sent by presbyteries, then read to two or three hundred ministers in the hall itself. On the 28th it was read to the commissioners appointed by the barons, then in the afternoon to a full meeting of the barons and gentlemen then in town, Wariston reading from "a fair parchment above an ellne in squair". Then, at about 4 p.m., the nobles came to Greyfriars Church and signed a copy written by Wariston on parchment, followed by the barons and gentlemen. On the night of 28 February-1 March Wariston wrote out "foor principal copyes in parchment" — no mean feat, given the length of the text — and in the morning nearly three hundred minsters signed at the Tailors' Hall; later the same day the commissioners of the royal burghs also signed.

The ruling élites of what may now be called the covenanting movement having signed, subscription was thrown open to the population as a whole, and arrangements were made to distribute copies of the covenant throughout the country. On 2 March orders were given that each shire, baillery, stewartry or distinct judicatory should be provided with a copy of the "Confession of Faith" (as the document was generally known), to be signed by the principal persons within each jurisdiction. Copies were also to be provided for every parish, to be signed by all those admitted to communion: those who could not write were to sign through a notary (Roths, *Relation*, 79-80). Usually only men signed: women swore the covenant but were not asked to sign it, though there are exceptions (1.15).

It is no doubt unlikely that every parish and every jurisdiction ever had a separate copy of the covenant, but certainly dozens and in all probability hundreds of copies were written during the weeks which followed. In Edinburgh at least enthusiasm was such that craft incorporations procured their own copies: those of the Tailors, the Cordiners, the Hammermen and the Skinners survive (1.10, 1.16, 3.3., 4.9); the Skinners must have benefitted significantly from the sudden boom in demand for parchment for covenants!

From the start it was realised that signatures would be much easier to gain in the localities if covenants had already been signed by respected leading covenanters, especially nobles: hence the dozens of surviving copies which bear the signatures of many of the nobles, and often representatives of the shires, burghs and ministry as well, which were clearly signed in Edinburgh and then taken to other places for further signature.

On 5 March it was ordered that in future no copies of the

covenant be signed by the nobles unless they were written by Mr James Cheyne, John Nicoll or Mr William Henderson (Roths, *Relation*, 82). All three men were writers to the signet, and were serving the covenanters as notaries, and giving them a monopoly in producing covenants to be graced with noble signatures was doubtless seen as a way of rewarding their service. No surviving copies, however, are known to have been written by any of these three men, though as no attempt has been made to compare their handwriting with that of the many anonymous copies that survive their handiwork may indeed be represented on the list. Cheyne evidently subcontracted his monopoly to others, contenting himself with authenticating their work by signing covenants on the bottom, often on the neckpiece (1.1., 1.16, 12.2, 12.3, 15.1, 16.12) — and no doubt collecting a fee from the actual writer! The same practice of endorsing the neckpiece was followed by Nicoll — though he may actually have written the copies he thus signed (4.9, 12.1, 14.2). The number of copies written by other men and signed by nobles without any sign of the three privileged notaries being involved suggests that their monopoly soon collapsed.

The surviving copies of the covenant doubtless represent only a small fraction of the original total; to the normal ravages of time there must be assumed to have been added deliberate destruction of many when, after 1660, having signed the covenant became an embarrassment, retaining possession of a copy a liability. But those copies that survive may be taken as a reasonably representative sample of the much larger number that originally existed — though the present list differs notably from earlier ones in containing a significant number of covenants signed in the North (1.17, 11.1, 11.3, 12.1, 12.2, 12.3). Very few of these have been previously listed, and none have been properly studied, but now that they have emerged from obscurity they provide striking testimony to the covenanters' success in gaining signatures in an area in which enthusiasm for their cause was limited.

The most common type of covenant prepared for subscription was the large parchment sheet, usually made of sheepskin, and Wariston's references to the parchment copies he prepared make it clear that the first copies signed were of this description — though none of these has been convincingly identified among surviving copies. Unfortunately many copies have been framed, and this usually makes it impossible to check on the back for signatures and endorsements.

Sometimes the parchment was cut into a regular rectangular shape, but more frequently the sheets were just trimmed round the edges, leaving the narrower neckpiece visible at one end. Sometimes the texts are plain, but many covenants were elaborately laid out and decorated, with borders and initial letters elaborated and illuminated to varying degrees in black, red and gold. Several

popular layouts among decorated styles can be identified: text within a rectangular decorated border, often with a very large decorated initial letter beginning the text (e.g., 4.2); text in two columns within a decorated border with an arched top (which often utilises the narrower neckpiece of the parchment), space being left at the bottom (or at the bottom of the second column) for signatures (e.g., 2.3, 3.2, 16.14); and a variant of this design in which the spaces for signatures (or, in one instance, coats of arms) are contained in circles, rectangles etc. worked into the border (2.2, 5.4, 6.1, 16.16). Many of these highly decorated copies only limited space for signatures. One (2.2) was prepared for signature by members of parliament in 1639. Other elaborate copies were presumably prepared for sale to zealous nobles, lairds and others who wished their own personal copies for signature by themselves and other leading covenanters. A number of plain covenants are endorsed with the names of lairds who were responsible for gathering signatures in their localities (e.g., 2.10), and one decorated copy has been “personalised” by including the coat of arms of the owner (6.1). It is notable that the decoration that appears on some of the covenants is determinedly secular: abstract designs, leaves, plants, scrolls, swags of fruit, fabulous animals. Religious imagery was clearly avoided for fear that it would smack of “popish” superstition. Perhaps the pelican pecking its breast on one copy (15.1) is the only instance of decoration being intended to have symbolic meaning.

In addition to the many handwritten parchment copies there are two remarkable printed copies on the same material (2.13, 5.3), designed to be rolled up for convenience and intended for signature. A total edition of two seems unlikely, and that there were originally more is indicated by the early eighteenth century list of covenants. It records two copies finely printed on parchment in two columns, one in Farme, near Rutherglen, the other owned by a bookseller in Linlithgow. It is conceivable that the first is identical with one of the two surviving copies, but the second is said to have the signatures “much worn out”, a description not fitting either of the survivors (Account, nos. 19, 21). There are also of course several printed editions of the National Covenant in the form of paper pamphlets, but these were not intended for subscription — though a copy of one of them has been used by an individual as his personal covenant (2.8). The covenanters made highly skilled use of printed propaganda, but clearly the general opinion was that when it came to the solemn signing of so important a document as the National Covenant there was nothing to beat a good old fashioned handwritten parchment to give an air of formality and legitimacy to the occasion — though one copy takes the form of a paper roll (7.2), and one parish copied the covenant into its minute book for signature by parishioners (1.8). One presbytery did the same, but it



was evidently only for signature by the ministers and elders of the presbytery (1.6, 1.7). In three known cases a parchment covenant as signed by parishioners was copied into the kirk sessions' minute books — the signatures as well as the text being transcribed (1.9, 8.1, 8.2). All three parishes concerned were in the presbytery of Ayr, which on 1 January 1640 ordered that covenants be thus copied in all its parishes, to help ensure the covenant was preserved. The precaution was wise: all three original parchment copies are lost. One burgh also conveniently copied signatures obtained to the covenant into its records (4.7).

When it came to the Solemn League and Covenant in 1643 the covenanters abandoned parchment in favour of printed pamphlets with blank pages at the end for signature; but when copies of both covenants were prepared for signature by Charles II in 1650-51 they reverted to handwritten parchment.

### *Dating*

Most copies of the covenant are undated, but some do bear dates (usually through notaries dating their attestations) — though the fact that many copies, perhaps most, did not acquire all their signatures on a single occasion means that such dates have to be used with caution. Evidence as to dating can, however, often be culled from additions to the text, and from close examination of the individual signatures.

On 20 December 1638 the General Assembly ordered that all ministers, university and school teachers and others who had not signed the covenant should sign with what became known as the Glasgow Determination prefixed to their signatures. This addition to the covenant spelled out the interpretation of points deliberately omitted or left ambiguous in the document: the Five Articles of Perth, the office of bishop, and the holding of civil offices by churchmen were all now to be rejected, according to the determination of the free and lawful general assembly (Peterkin, *Records*, 40). After this date new copies of the covenant included this declaration, or a reference to it, in their titles or, more commonly, at the end of the text. However, it was also frequently inserted in existing copies, either after the signatures of those who had already signed or, if there was room, between the end of the text and these signatures. Thus if the Glasgow Determination on a covenant looks like an insertion, the copy may be assumed to predate the assembly's order.

On 28 August 1639 the next General Assembly urged the king's commissioner, the Earl of Traquair, to sign the covenant and have an act passed by the Privy Council ordering all subjects to sign it. On the 30th the council, having received a supplication of the same date from the assembly, passed such an act, and Traquair himself agreed to sign the covenant. The copy he then signed survives (1.3),



and subsequent covenants usually bear in their titles or (less frequently) after the text references to the acts of assembly and council of 30 August, or even the full texts of the acts (Peterkin, *Records*, 207; *RPCS*, 1638-43, 131-32; J. Gordon, *History of Scots Affairs*, Spalding Club, 1841, iii, 55-60).

Some undated covenants can be dated quite accurately by the study of the appended signatures; the dates when some prominent individuals first signed is known, and forms of title, the names of the parishes individuals describe themselves as ministers of, and dates of death can all be useful, but such detective work is usually very time-consuming and in most instances is yet to be undertaken (For a good example of what can be achieved see John Imrie's study of 1.12).

In some cases one or two key signatures provide accurate guidance. Where the signature "A. Leslie" appears among noble signatures, and indeed usually before noble signatures (e.g., 3.5), then the covenant almost certainly was first signed after 9 May 1639, for on that date he was commissioned as commander in chief of the covenanters' armies with precedence above that of all nobles. Similarly, the name of Thomas Abernethie, who identifies himself as a former Jesuit but now a repentant sinner and member of the true church of God (1.13, 1.15, 12.2), must date from after his conversion, a great propaganda *coup* for the covenanters: he was first allowed to sign the covenant (amid much publicity) on 23 or 24 August 1638 (Fleming, "Subscribing", 60).

There are, however, pitfalls for the unwary in relying on just a few signatures. Some covenants had signatures added years after they were first signed (e.g., 1.3), and many were signed over periods of weeks or months. The order of signatures is, moreover, frequently a misleading guide to the order in which men signed. Nobles usually signed first, immediately after the text, followed by lairds, burgesses, ministers and finally the commons; or, in covenants bearing only local signatures, landowners and other notables sign first. But men who signed at later dates would try to place their signatures at approximately the right place according to their social status. This was especially the case where the nobility were concerned: all knew exactly where their precedence entitled them to sign, and tended to try to squeeze their names in at that point. In some of the more crowded covenants, however, no such precise social order prevails. Placing of signatures on these copies may have been orderly at first, but latecomers found themselves having to sign wherever they could find a space.

*Index of Writers of Copies of the National Covenant:*

Achesoun, John: writer, H.M. Chancellery: 16.13.

Allanson, ?: reader, Kinneil and Bo'ness: 3.6.

Aytoun, William: mason, Edinburgh: 1.11, 2.2, 5.4, 6.1.

Campbell, Hector: notary and session clerk, Galston: 1.9.  
 Cullen, John: notary, Edinburgh: 1.3.  
 Cummin, William: Edinburgh: 14.3.  
 Davie, James: schoolmaster, Edinburgh: 1.4, 4.3, 4.8.  
 Fleming, John: notary and session clerk, Dundonald: 8.1.  
 Garroch, Patrick: writer, Wigtown: 2.12, 7.2.  
 Gray, Patrick: 4.1.  
 Inglis, Thomas: notary: 12.3.  
 Laurie, John: writer, Edinburgh: 1.13, 3.2, 3.4, 4.2, 4.6, 5.1, 8.4, 13.1, 14.4, 15.1, 16.14.  
 Maxwell, George: notary: 2.5.  
 M'Ghie, R. M.?: 2.4.  
 Neill, Robert: writer, Edinburgh: 1.1, 1.10, 3.5.  
 Penman, John, younger: notary, Jedburgh: 2.10.  
 Ramsay, James: writer, Edinburgh: 1.9.  
 Ramsay, William: commissary clerk, Dumfries: 7.1.  
 Simpson, John: 1.16.  
 Trotter, John: notary: 2.1, 6.2, 16.3.

### *Acknowledgements*

Compiling this list would have been impossible without the help of the staffs of public record offices and libraries, and of private owners and their representatives. I am most grateful to all of them for their patience with my queries by letter and 'phone as well as in person. Alas there are too many of them to list in full, but the help given by the Scottish Record Office, by the National Library of Scotland and, above all, by the National Register of Archives (Scotland) has been of central importance.

### 1. EDINBURGH: SCOTTISH RECORD OFFICE

1.1 SRO, SP.13/159  
 Formerly State Papers, no. 133.  
 24" × 22".

"Writtin be Robert Neill writter". Signed by James Cheyne on both the front (centre bottom) and back (centre top).

No Glasgow Determination.

Well over 100 signatures, headed by nobles. Date 2 August 1638 follows the signature of Sir James Lamont of that Ilk.

Hewison 3, no. 21\*.

1.2 SRO, SP.13/160  
 Formerly State Papers, no. 134a.  
 25" × 27". Three small holes.

Glasgow Determination: added subsequently to text, on the back.

Over 200 signatures from Borgue, Kirkcudbrightshire. A few lairds but no nobles sign. Dated Borgue Kirk, 22 April 1638.

Signatures on the back (top left) after the Glasgow Determination are mainly resubscriptions, duplicating signatures on the front. Many signatures on the front are through notaries.

Hewison 3, no. 22.

Houston, *Literacy*, 288: description.

R. T. Young, "A Borgue Covenant", *TDGNHAS*, 3rd series vol. xviii (1934), 402-5: description, and transcripts of all signatures.

A. S. Morton, *Galloway and the Covenanters* (Paisley, 1914), 460-64: transcripts of all signatures.

1.3

SRO, SP.13/162

Formerly State Papers, no. 134b.

36" × 34½". Neckpiece at bottom. Several small holes.

"Writtine be Johne Cullen notar in Edinburgh".

The Glasgow Determination signed by Archibald Johnston of Wariston as clerk of the church, follows the text, which is headed by the supplication and acts of 30 August 1639.

About 130 signatures. Dated 12 August 1639, the day on which the General Assembly had opened. After the acts of the assembly and the Privy Council of 30 August, Traquair agreed to sign the covenant, but announced that in signing in his capacity as King's Commissioner he would preface his signature with a declaration that the covenant was understood to be "one in substance" with the Negative Confession signed by James VI in 1581. But, he stated, in his private capacity "as a subjecte, he should subscrybe the Covenant as strictly as anye": Peterkin, *Records*, 207: *RPCS*, 1638-43, 131-32; J. Gordon, *History of Scots Affairs*, Spalding Club, 1841, iii, 55-60. This copy bears Traquair's signature, and thus appears to be the copy that he signed as a private individual. It also has the signatures of two other leading supporters of the king, the Duke of Lennox and the Marquis of Hamilton. These (the only signatures placed before Traquair's) were probably added when, in the summer of 1641, they came to Scotland with Charles I. Other signatures include many members of the 1639 assembly. The signatures "Roxburghe" and "Roths" occur twice in different hands, presumably indicating that some signatures were added to the covenant long after 1639: the 6th Earl of Roth's died in 1641 when his successor was only about eleven years old, and the 1st Earl of Roxburghe did not die until 1650.

Hewison 3, no. 23\*.

1.4

SRO, SP.13/163

Formerly State Papers, no. 136.

42" × 27½". Many small holes.

"Written be James Davie schoolmaister in Edinburghe".

The Glasgow Determination follows the text, then, in a different hand, there is a statement referring to the acts of August

1639, and to the covenant being signed at Edinburgh 6 September 1639. The heading includes the supplications and acts of August 1639.

No signatures, but as the bottom is very worn it is possible that there were originally a few signatures (not enough space is left for more).

Hewison 3, no. 25.

1.5 SRO, SP.13/166  
15" × 36". Incomplete, the parchment having been cut off in the middle of text both at top and foot. Several large holes have been patched by glueing another strip of parchment on the back, and the missing parts of the text have been rewritten on this in a different hand.

The surviving text begins with a reference to the acts of August 1639, followed by the opening of the covenant itself.

1.6 SRO, CH.2/424/2, Minutes of the  
Presbytery of Dalkeith, 1630-39  
7¼" × 5½". Paper.

Glasgow Determination.

The covenant and 21 signatures appears in the minute book, between minutes of the presbytery of 28 March 1639 and of the Synod of Lothian, 2 April 1639. The signatures are those of members of the presbytery.

Hewison 3, no. 57.

1.7 SRO, CH.2/424/3, Minutes of the  
Presbytery of Dalkeith, 1639-52  
11½" × 7½". Paper.

References to the Glasgow Determination and the August 1639 acts follow the text.

Text on pp. 1-11, followed by signatures of 18 ministers (p. 11), 37 ruling elders (p. 13 — there is no p. 12), and 51 expectants and ruling elders (p. 14). A minute of 5 December 1639 (f.6r) orders all members present to sign the covenant "writtin in the frontispice of this book". Between minutes of 26 April and 1 May 1649 there appears a declaration to be signed by repentant Engagers pledging support for the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant, followed by the signatures of some army officers dated August-October 1649, and January and July 1650.

1.8 SRO, CH.2/548/1, Monimail Kirk  
Session Minutes, 1631-1706  
9½" × 7¾". Paper.

Headed "At the kirk of Monymaill the aughtene day of March the year of god 1638" and signed by the minister and about 50 other parishioners, perhaps mainly elders.

Hewison 1, no. 57: description.



1.9 SRO, CH.2/1335/4, Galston Kirk  
Session Minutes, 1638-44

9¾" × 7". Paper. Text on 8½ pages, "signatures" on 3 pages.

Written by Hector Campbell, notary and session clerk, on 3 January 1640, copying the parchment "Wreattin be James Ramsay wreater in Edinburgh". The original covenant and the signatures of all who had signed in the parish were copied on the orders of the kirk session which in turn was carrying out the orders of the presbytery of Ayr of 1 January.

No Glasgow Determination.

Several hundred "signatures", headed by the minister and local lairds. The original was doubtless signed in 1638.

Hewison 3, no. 56.

Hewison 2, no. 47: description.

1.10 SRO, GD.1/12/52, Records of the Incorporation of  
Tailors of Edinburgh

Records formerly held by Messrs. Wishart and Sanderson, W.S.,  
23 Rutland St., Edinburgh.

29" × 25". Neckpiece at bottom.

Written by Robert Neill writer in Edinburgh.

Glasgow Determination: at bottom of the text in same hand,  
but may have been added later.

Over a hundred signatures headed by nobles and some lairds  
and ministers, followed by the deacon, clerk and other members of  
the Incorporation of Tailors (several just signing their initials).

SRO, RH.1/2/454: photostat of signatures.

1.11 SRO, GD.1/1002

Bought by Mr B. Babington-Smith, Yetford Manor, Oxfordshire,  
in 1980, and presented by him in 1984. See 16.20 below.

34¼" × 32½". Written in two columns, within a very elaborately  
decorated border, with heading and some words and capitals  
illuminated in gold. Badly stained.

"Written bee William Aytoun Maison".

Prefaced by supplication and acts of August 1639. Glasgow  
Determination.

At the foot there are a few signatures (very faded) of nobles  
under the heading "The subscriptions of Noblemen". It may be  
that further signatures were not added because it was noticed that  
the Glasgow Determination omitted the word "unlawful" in the  
passage supposed to declare the Five Articles of Perth, bishops, etc.  
unlawful in the kirk!

1.12 SRO, GD.25/8/302, Ailsa Muniments (on  
display in West Register House)

31" × 25½". Neckpiece at bottom. One small hole.

Glasgow Determination: added subsequently under all but seven of the signatures.

87 signatures, headed by leading nobles. A high proportion of the signatories were feuars or tenants of the Earl of Cassilis. The earl, one of the nobles who signed, was hereditary baillie of Carrick and the largest landowner in that region of Ayrshire, and it was probably he who arranged for this copy of the covenant to be circulated in the area. Nearly all those who sign were landed men, but there are a few ministers, merchants and professional men.

J. D. Imrie, "The Carrick Covenant of 1638", *Ayrshire Collections*, iii (Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 1950-4), 107-18: description and all signatures.

1.13 SRO, GD.40/12/2, Lothian Muniments  
Formerly in Newbattle Abbey. Deposited in 1952 in accordance with the terms of the will of the 11th Marquis of Lothian. About 35" × 36". Decorated border and opening letter of text illuminated in gold. Some holes and damage to border. Framed.

"Written be John Laurie writer in Edinburgh".

No Glasgow Determination.

166 signatures of nobles, lairds, burgesses and ministers, the latter predominating. Most signatures are those of members of the Glasgow Assembly of November-December 1638, and it seems likely that it was signed at about the end of the assembly by members and some others present — including "Thomas Abernethie sometyme Jesuite but nowe penitent sinner and ane vnworthy member of the church of Scotland". The fact that two ministers sign twice suggests that not all the signatures were appended on the same occasion. Sir William Fraser undertook to have the covenant repaired, the missing parts of the border and missing words then being supplied. But it was evidently repaired, framed and returned to Newbattle without this touching up taking place (SRO, GD.40/9/431, bundle 2, nos. 30, 34, 35, copies of letters from Fraser to Lothian).

Hewison, 3, no. 34.

Houston, *Literacy*, 286: description.

SRO, File T.39: includes a "Report on Newbattle Copy of National Covenant, 1638", which has transcripts of all signatures and a very full discussion of the date of signature.

1.14 SRO, GD.103/2/149, Society of Antiquaries Collection  
Formerly in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (later the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland), OA.25, having been presented by Thomas Rattray in 1782. 22" × 22". Very faded (largely illegible). A strip has been cut from the bottom.

No Glasgow Determination.

Several dozen signatures headed by leading nobles: others may have been on the strip cut from the bottom.

Hewison 3, no. 10\*.

1.15 SRO, GD.103/2/150, Society of Antiquaries Collection  
Formerly in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland  
(Later the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland), OA.28,  
having been presented by Thomas Rattray in 1782.

29½" × 24". Neckpiece at bottom. Very faded in places.

No Glasgow Determination.

About 300 signatures, headed by five leading nobles and including many Ayrshire lairds and several women. The right hand side of the back contains three notarial subscriptions. These are dated 1638, June 1642, and April 1643 respectively, the dates all being in the same hand (which is contemporary but different from those of the entries). Probably signed mainly in Maybole. The June 1642 notarial subscription is a list of "all strangeris from the kingdome of Ireland" signing through notaries. In fact the list includes 64 parishioners and 19 "strangers" (refugees from the 1641 Irish rebellion), seven being women.

Hewison 3, no. 9\*

Laing, no. 7: description and some signatures.

Houston, *Literacy*, 287: description.

1.16 SRO, GD.348/38, Records of the  
Incorporation of Cordiners of Edinburgh  
29" × 26". Neckpiece at bottom. Many small holes (repaired).

"Writtin be Johne Symson". James Cheyne signs on back of the neckpiece.

No Glasgow Determination.

Signed by leading lairds, nobles and ministers, and by cordiners (shoemakers), some signing through notaries. Endorsed "The Confession of Faith for the Cordinaris of Edinburgh".

1.17 SRO, GD.406/M9/68  
Formerly in Hamilton Palace, subsequently in Lennoxlove House.  
For another covenant in the same archive see 5.3.

33" × 27". Neckpiece at bottom. Upper left corner torn. Crumpled and many small holes.

No Glasgow Determination (Hewison states that it was added subsequently to text, but there is no sign of it. The back is headed by a statement that those signing there bind themselves to all the articles of the confession and covenant, and Hewison may have misread this).

Several hundred signatures on front and back, headed by those of nobles. A few sign through notaries. Probably signed mainly in the North East, as many of those signing come from that area,

including people from Ardesier, Fetteresso, Aberdeen and Drum parishes.

Hewison 3, no. 41.

Hewison 2, no. 38: description and some signatures.

## 2. EDINBURGH: THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND

2.1 NLS, Adv. Ms. 20.6.13

40" × 32½". Neckpiece at bottom. Much faded and crumpled.

"Writtin be Johne Trotter, notar publict".

No Glasgow Determination.

About 500 signatures on front and top half of back, headed by nobles. Some notarial subscriptions. Endorsed (very faded) "Confession of Faith for Fyf", and mainly signed in Fife. Hewison states that it was signed in April 1638 but this date is not visible.

Hewison 3, no. 13.

2.2 NLS, Adv. Ms. 20.6.14

Presented to the Advocates' Library by William Aytoun, junior, in 1703 (stated in an oval in the border at the top). Described by Hewison as on display in the Laigh Parliament House.

40½" × 32½". Very faded. Framed. Written in two columns, with some letters illuminated in red and gold. An elaborate decorated border in red and gold, arched at the top, contains circles and (at the corners) squares. Those at the top were left blank for signatures of nobles, while those at the sides and bottom were labelled with the names of shires and royal burghs, for signature by commissioners from these places. Small rectangles are added at the bottom for some minor burghs which could not otherwise be fitted in. An oval at the top of the arch records the gift of the covenant to the library, while a circle within the arch contains the coat of arms of "John Aytoun of that Ilk".

"Written be William Aytoun, Maison", and dated 12 January 1639.

Glasgow Determination contained in two oval cartouches at the bottom. The heading contains references (added subsequently) to the acts of the Privy Council and General Assembly of 30 August 1639.

The signatures, those of 26 nobles, 34 lairds and 40 burgesses, correspond very closely to the roll of members of parliament dated 31 August 1639, *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, v (1816), 251-52.

Hewison 3, no. 14\*.

A facsimile was published by R. D. Davidson, St Andrew St., Edinburgh [1848?]. (NLS, Adv. Ms. 20.16.14a).



2.3 NLS, Adv. Ms. 20.6.15  
32" × 22½". Text written in two columns, with space below right hand column for signatures. Decorated border in red with arched top. Some capitals illuminated in gold and red, and some words in red.

"Written be John Laurie writer in Edinburgh".

Glasgow Determination.

Twelve signatures, mainly of nobles.

Hewison 3, no. 15\*.

2.4 NLS, Adv. Ms. 20.6.16  
31½" × 29". Badly stained.

According to Hewison "R. M. M'Ghie wrotte it", but this inscription was not found and its form (with two initials for Christian names) makes it implausible.

Glasgow Determination added subsequently to the text, below most of the signatures.

About 200 signatures, headed by nobles. Signed mainly in Peebles: signatures include provost, baillies and councillors, but also those of Jedburgh burgesses. Laing refers to a covenant "belonging to the burgh of Peebles" marked "For the Burgh of Peebles" which had been engraved in facsimile. The reference to a facsimile indicates that it is this covenant now in the NLS that Laing refers to, but the inscription (like that referred to by Hewison) is not present, making it possible that there is — or was — a second Peebles covenant.

Hewison 3, no. 16\*.

Laing, no. 10.

Houston, *Literacy*, 287: description.

*Fac-Simile of the National Covenant of Scotland, with the Autographs of the Principal Leading Personages* (Thomas Henderson & Co., Glasgow. At least two editions were published in the mid nineteenth century, with some copies on parchment): facsimile — copies at NLS, A. 108. c; British Library 4175. bb. 88; 4735. bbb. 17; and 1856. g. 3 (28).

2.5 NLS, Adv. Ms. 20.6.17a  
Said to have been preserved in the papers of the Adair family. Presented by Lord Cowan and his nephews in 1874.  
33½" × 28". A few small holes. Badly stained. Neckpiece at bottom.

Written "be George Maxwell".

No Glasgow Determination.

About 550 signatures on front and top of back, headed by nobles and about 20 lairds and burgesses. About 175 sign through a notarial attestation by George Maxwell dated 13 March 1638 (at the bottom of the front). Signed mainly in Ayr.

Hewison 3, no. 17\*.

J. Paton, *Scottish National Memorials* (Glasgow, 1890), 89-90: description and some signatures.

NLS Adv. Ms. 20.6.17b: cutting from the *Ayr Advertiser*, 8 October 1874 containing a transcript of some signatures, and what is perhaps a corrected proof for the same newspaper containing a transcript of Ayrshire signatures.

2.6

NLS, Adv. Ms. 20.6.18

Endorsed "Ex dono Mr Adami Coult Advocati et Bibliothecary". Adam Colt was joint keeper of the Advocate's Library, 1703-18. He was the great grandson of Mr Adam Colt, minister of Inveresk, 1597-1641.

32½" × 34". Very faded in places.

No Glasgow Determination.

766 signatures, comprising 400 holograph (seven nobles, 52 lairds, 341 others, the latter including three marks) and 366 through notaries. Probably signed partly in Inveresk: a notarial attestation for some indwellers in Inveresk by George Aytoun is dated 20, 21 and 25 March 1638.

Hewison 3, no. 18\*.

Houston, *Literacy*, 290, 291: description.

2.7

NLS, Adv. Ms. 20.6.19

35" × 25½". Neckpiece at top, cut to form a point. Very poor condition, with very little of the text or signatures now visible.

Glasgow Determination.

About fifteen signatures of nobles and others, but only a few traces of these are now visible.

Hewison 3, no. 20\*.

2.8

NLS, Ms. 1656

Presented by E. S. Lamplough, Blackheath, in 1935.

Printed edition of the National Covenant. An extra page has been inserted with the following handwritten statement:

"The second day off merche anno 1638. I George Leslie burges in Edinburgh subscrivitt this Confessione off faith and Covenant in the college kirk. And the first day of apryll thereafter being Sondag I in the said College kirk gaive testimonie therunto be holding up off our handis and did solemlie swear to the mentenance and keiping off this our confessione off faith and Covenant: Mr Harie Rollok being the Minister quha preachit that Sabbath day and did tak the oath as I doe now both with my heart and hand subscribe

G. Leslie"

This is followed by 1643 and 1648 editions of the Solemn League and Covenant with similar testimonies by Leslie.

2.9 NLS, Ch. 4764  
Presented by George H. Liston Foulis, Edinburgh, in 1948.  
About 25" × 25". Two holes. Bottom cut unevenly as if a strip has been removed.

No Glasgow Determination.

No signatures, and no room for them under the text, but signatures may have been cut off.

2.10 NLS, Ch. 5329, Ker Charters and Papers  
About 28" × 22". Neckpiece at bottom. Very good condition.

"Writtin be John Penman youngar nottar In Jedburgh".

No Glasgow Determination.

Over 50 signatures, including 20 nobles. Endorsed "The Confession of Faith For Sir Thomas Ker of Cavers Knight".

2.11 NLS, Dep. 232  
Formerly in Trinity College Library, Cambridge. Deposited in the NLS in 1975.

26" × 25". Some small holes. Mounted on cardboard (formerly framed). Many signatures illegible.

No Glasgow Determination.

About 150 signatures (headed by leading nobles). Probably signed in Fife and Stirlingshire. Notarial subscription dated March 1638.

Hewison 3, no. 52\*.

Hewison 1, no. 46: some signatures not given in Hewison 2 and 3.

Hewison 2, no. 46: some signatures not given in Hewison 3.

SRO, RH.1/2/457: photocopy.

2.12 NLS, Dep. 261  
From the papers of the Maxwells of Cardoness and, later, the Rainsford-Hannays of Kirkdale and that ilk. Deposited by Mr R. W. Rainsford-Hannay in 1977. For other covenants from the same collection see 2.13 and 7.2.

28" × 27".

"Wryttin be Patrick Garroch wrytter in Wigtoune".

Glasgow Determination: on back, followed by twelve signatures.

355 signatures on front and back, none of them of nobles. All but about 50 sign through notaries. Signed mainly in parish of Minnigaff, Kirkcudbrightshire. Uniquely, most of the signatures are duplicated on 7.2, evidently indicating that the two copies were signed together.

G. W. Shirley, "A Unique Example of the National Covenant of 1638", *TDGNHAS*, 3rd series, ii (1913-14), 114, 254-57: description and transcript of signatures.

A. S. Morton, *Galloway and the Covenanters* (Paisley, 1914), 467-70: description and transcripts of signatures.

From the papers of the Maxwells of Cardoness and, later, the Rainsford-Hannays of Kirkdale and that ilk. Deposited by Mr R. W. Rainsford-Hannay in 1977. For other covenants from the same collection see 2.12 and 7.2.

Printed in two columns, with a decorated border, on two sheets of parchment of about  $14\frac{1}{2}" \times 19\frac{1}{2}"$  and  $14\frac{1}{2}" \times 21"$ . The two sheets were originally glued together, and a third sheet,  $14\frac{1}{2}" \times 5\frac{1}{2}"$ , was glued on after the end of the text to provide additional space for signatures. Woodcut of first letter of text shows Salome and the head of John the Baptist. Printed by George Anderson, Edinburgh? "J. Coupar" signs across the joins of the sheets. Formerly attached to wooden rollers. The printed text is identical with that of 5.3.

No Glasgow Determination.

102 signatures. 13 nobles sign on the left hand margin of the first sheet, lairds at the bottom of the second sheet and on the third.

G. W. Shirley, "A Unique Example of the National Covenant of 1638", *TDGNHAS*, 3rd series, ii (1913-14), frontispiece and 111-14: photograph of first two sheets, description, and transcript of signatures.

A. S. Morton, *Galloway and the Covenanters* (Paisley, 1914), 464-67: description and transcripts of signatures.

NRA (S), 0170, Rainsford-Hannay of Cardoness (1947), 2.

SRO, RH.1/2/608: photograph.

### 3. EDINBURGH: EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY LIBRARY (including NEW COLLEGE LIBRARY)

#### 3.1

EUL, Ms. Dc.1.50

$27" \times 23\frac{1}{2}"$ . Neckpiece at bottom. Framed.

No Glasgow Determination.

About 200 signatures, headed by nobles.

Hewison 3, no. 32\*.

#### 3.2

EUL, Ms. Dc.1.50

$31\frac{1}{2}" \times 24"$ . Decorative border, arched at the top. Space between title and text and some major capitals decorated with foliage, swags of fruit, etc: probably intended to be illuminated. Some words in red. Text in two columns of equal length. Framed.

"Written by John Laurie, writer in Edinburgh".

Headed (unusually) "The Confession of Faith and Covenant of the Kirk of Scotland", as signed in 1639. The Glasgow Determination follows the text, and the supplication and acts of August 1639 precede it.

About 56 signatures of nobles and lairds.



3.3 EUL, Divinity Section (New College Library)  
Presented by James Wilson, blacksmith, foot of Liberton's Wynd, to "the Trades Chappell called Magdalen Chappell, belonging to the Hammermen of Edinburgh, and [it] is there hung up" in the early eighteenth century. The Incorporation of Hammermen in turn presented it to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1876. Later transferred from the Library of the General Assembly to New College.

34" × 27½". Neckpiece at bottom.

No Glasgow Determination.

About 180 signatures, a few through notaries, headed by seven nobles. Signed in a number of places. Signatures include a number of Ayrshire and Dumfriesshire lairds. One signature reads "Samuell Walker puter and present diken, 1703". This and the fact that of nine men signing through notaries two are blacksmiths and one a pewterer indicates that this was primarily the covenant of the Hammermen of Edinburgh, returned to them by a smith whose family had come into possession of it.

Hewison 3, no. 31\*.

Account, no. 11 (and p. 242).

[J. Paton], *Scottish History and Life* (Glasgow, 1902), 98-99: description and some signatures.

3.4 EUL, Divinity Section (New College Library)  
Bequeathed by the Rev. Dr Thomas Guthrie in 1873.

38" × 31¾". Ornamental border and opening words illuminated in gold and black. Poor condition, with much of the top of the parchment missing.

"Written be John Laurie writer in Edinburgh".

Glasgow Determination added subsequently to the text.

About 180 signatures (many illegible), headed by nobles, including those of the baillies and councillors of the burgh of Lauder. Most of the signatures are arranged in ten columns.

Hewison 3, no. 28\*.

Laing, no. 23.

[J. Paton], *Scottish History and Life* (Glasgow, 1902), 99-100: description.

3.5 EUL, Divinity Section (New College Library)  
29½" × 23".

"Writtin be Robert Neill wrytter in Edinburgh".

The Glasgow Determination follows the text, and the heading includes reference to the 30 August 1639 supplication and acts.

26 signatures, all those of nobles except the first, that of Sir Alexander Leslie.

Hewison 3, no. 29\*.

*Catalogue of Printed Books and Manuscripts in the Library of*

*the New College, Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1868), 934: transcripts of 21 signatures.

3.6 EUL, Divinity Section (New College Library)  
22½" × 22".

"Writtine be Mr [name illegible] Allansone reader of Gods word" at Kinneil and Bo'ness, 24 March 1638.

Glasgow Determination added subsequently at bottom left.

147 signatures, evidently all of people in Kinneil and Bo'ness, and many more sign through notaries. No noble signatures.

Hewison 3, no. 30\*.

Houston, *Literacy*, 290: comment.

3.7 EUL, Divinity Section (New College Library)  
33¼" × 29". Neckpiece at bottom.

Glasgow Determination added subsequently above signatures.

Many signatures, headed by eight nobles. Notarial attestations dated "At the north kirk of Leith", 7 and 15 April 1638, and contain names of people "all indwellers in the north syd of the brig". Most of the other signatures are also probably from North Leith.

Hewison 2, no. 27.

Houston, *Literacy*, 87, 290: comments.

Hugh Watt, *New College* (Edinburgh, 1946), 184.

#### 4. EDINBURGH: GENERAL

4.1 The Royal Museum of Scotland, OA.18  
Presented to the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland by Alexander Fergusson of Craigdarroch in 1784.

34½" × 28¼". Neckpiece at bottom. Poor condition, with several holes and tears.

"Writtin be Patrik Gray".

No Glasgow Determination (According to Hewison it was added to the text below the signatures, but there is no sign of this).

About 300 signatures, headed by leading nobles etc. and some Argyllshire lairds. Many more sign through three notarial attestations, all in the same hand and dated from Dumbarton. Endorsed "ffor the broughe of Dumbartane" and (later?) "National Covenant for the Burghe and Parochin of Dumbartane".

Hewison 3, no. 8\*.

Laing, no. 6.

4.2 The Royal Museum of Scotland, OA.21  
Presented to the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland by John Leslie in 1784.

32½" × 26¾". Pink border with pattern picked out in white.

Initial word and some others illuminated in red or gold and some words illuminated in red and gold. Three large holes in centre. Framed.

“Written be John Laurie, writer in Edinburgh”.

Glasgow Determination: probably written at the same time as the text.

About 30 names still decipherable (some very faded). The signatures are not those of members of the Privy Council, as stated by Hewison.

Hewison 3, no. 11.

Hewison, *Covenanters*, i, opp. p. 306: photograph.

4.3 Huntly House Museum  
45" × 45½". Neckpiece at bottom. Probably deer skin. Several holes.

“Written be James Davie, Schoolmaister in Edinburghe”.

Glasgow Determination below text. It appears to be in the same hand and ink as the text, but the dated notarial attestation (see below) as read by Hewison indicates that it must have been added later.

About 4190 signatures, initials and marks of subscribers, fully occupying the available space on both front (1350) and back (2840), about 960 of the latter being through notaries. Headed by leading nobles, lairds, burgesses and ministers. One signature is prefaced by (in Latin) “let God arise and His enemies be scattered”; Johne Cunynghame signs “till daith”; E. Johnestoun signs “with my” followed by a drawing of a heart. One notarial attestation is (according to Hewison) dated “At the South Kirk of Edinburgh”, 13, 20 and 27 March 1638 (successive Tuesdays).

Hewison 3, no. 7\*.

Hewison, *Covenanters*, i, opp. p. 264: photograph.

[J. Paton], *Scottish History and Life* (Glasgow, 1902), 98: description and some signatures.

Fleming, “*Subscribing*”, 85-87: description.

4.4 St Giles Cathedral (Chepman Aisle)  
In possession of the lairds of Dundas in Dundas Castle until 1924. Acquired by Alexander Wallace, J.P., of Whitehill, Aberdour, Fife, and presented to St Giles Cathedral in 1926. For another covenant formerly in Dundas Castle see 16.2.  
Over 41½" × 40". Neckpiece at bottom. Framed.

No Glasgow Determination.

About 183 signatures, headed by nobles. Endorsed “The confession of faith for Lynlithgow Sherifffdome. Ordenit to be delyveritt to the laird of Dundas to be keipitt”.

Hewison 3, no. 60.

Account, no. 22.

*Facsimile of the National Covenant subscribed by the Heritors, Ministers and people of the Sheriffdom of Linlithgow in the year 1638. With a Copy and Modernised Version of the Text. Also a Letter and Memorandum relative thereto* (100 copies privately printed, Edinburgh, 1926): facsimile and transcript of text (pp. 5-14) and all signatures (pp. 14-16). NLS, R. 290. b. The copy of the facsimile displayed in St Michael's Church, Linlithgow, is sometimes mistaken for an original.

4.5 Free Church College (Presbytery Room)  
Formerly in New College, Edinburgh, having been bequeathed to the Free Church by the Earl of Dalhousie. In 1900 the Free Church united with the United Presbyterian Church to form the United Free Church, but a small minority in the Free Church rejected the union, and a dispute broke out over the ownership of the property held by the Free Church before the union. Church Commissioners were appointed by parliament in 1905 to arrange a division of the property, and they ruled that one of the two framed copies of the covenant then in New College (which had become the United Free Church's College) should be handed over to "the other side" — i.e., the continuing remnant of the Free Church.  
36" × 27". Neckpiece at bottom. Framed.

No Glasgow Determination.

About 800 signatures, headed by leading nobles. The signatures are in separate compartments divided into sections labelled — noblemen; gentry of the shire; commissioners for the shires; ministers of the shire; commissioners for burghs; remaining persons within the shire; ministers not of the shire; subscribers at the meeting in Edinburgh the 15 [June] 1638 "the Marquis of Hamilton being commissiонер". Apart from those signatures at the Edinburgh meeting the signatures are mainly from Ayrshire. Commissioners from the shires and burghs had gathered in Edinburgh to negotiate with Hamilton (the king's commissioner), and as well as such official delegates many hundreds of lairds, ministers, burgesses and others had flocked to Edinburgh. Those from individual shires sometimes held separate meetings, and this covenant may have been signed at a meeting of Ayrshire men in Edinburgh as well as by commissioners from other areas. On 15 June the covenanters presented a supplication to Hamilton renewing the demands made in the covenant for a free General Assembly and Parliament (Roths, *Relation*, 120-21).

Hewison 3, no. 27.

Hewison 4.

Houston, *Literacy*, 286: description.

[J. Paton], *Scottish History and Life* (Glasgow, 1902), 99: description.



4.6 Greyfriars Church (Session Room)  
Lent to the kirk session by Miss Alice Hislop, 5 India St.,  
Edinburgh, in 1952.

34" × 29". Brown and white decorated border. Initial letter  
illuminated in gold and brown, and some words in red or gold.  
Framed.

"Written be John Laurie, writer in Edinburgh".

Glasgow Determination. The heading refers to the acts of 30  
August 1639.

61 signatures, headed by nobles. Probably signed largely in  
Edinburgh, August to November 1639. The final signature is that  
of the writer, John Laurie.

SRO, File T/258: description and all signatures.

4.7 Edinburgh City Archives, Book of Records of  
the Ancient Privileges of the Canongate  
12" × 8". Paper. First clause of the covenant and signatures on pp.  
37-44.

No Glasgow Determination.

Copies of 641 signature, presumably taken from a parchment  
covenant signed in the Canongate by the burgh minister, baillie,  
clerk, and hundreds of craftsmen. Occupations are given for nearly  
all signatories. A number of names appear twice. The signatures  
are headed "The Rentall of the names within the burgh of the  
Canongait that subscrivit the fformer confession of faith in March  
1638 yeiris", and subsequently "The names of thes that could not  
subscriye bot gave command to nottaris to subscriye for tham".

M. Wood (ed.), *Book of Records of the Ancient Privileges of  
the Canongate* (Scottish Record Society, 1955), 10-16: transcript of  
all signatures.

4.8 Dickson Smith, WS, 9 Rosebery Crescent, Edinburgh  
The property of Mr Michael Colvin, M.P., Tangley House,  
Andover, Hampshire, deposited among the papers of the Cramond  
and Harthill Estates. Mr Colvin inherited this covenant from his  
paternal grandmother, who was a member of the family of Craigie-  
Halket of Cramond and a descendant of the family of Inglis of  
Cramond.

30½" × 24½". Neckpiece at bottom.

"Writtin be James Davie, schoollmaister in Edinburgh".

No Glasgow Determination.

Over 100 signatures, only one being that of a noble,  
Balmerino, who signed first followed by the minister of Cramond,  
William Colvill. Many sign through a notary. Probably signed  
mainly in Cramond.

SRO, RH.1/2/637: photograph.

SRA (S), 0872.

4.9 Records of the Incorporation of Skinners and  
Furriers of Edinburgh, Trades Maiden Hospital,  
61 Melville St., Edinburgh  
Exhibited by David Laing to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland  
in 1847.

32½" × 29¾". Neckpiece at bottom. Very good condition.

Text ends with "Written be" but no name given. John Nicoll  
signs on the back of the neckpiece, and may have written the text as  
well.

No Glasgow Determination.

Signed by 15 nobles, some lairds, burgesses and ministers.  
Following this is the statement that it was signed "Upoun the  
auchteine of August 1638 be the Skynneris of Edinburgh",  
followed by 97 signatures of skinners, led by the deacon.

"Documents belonging to the Incorporation of Skinners and  
Furriers of Edinburgh" (handwritten inventory kept with the  
records), pp. 2-3: transcript of all signatures.

Laing, no. 22.

## 5. LOTHIAN

5.1 Dalmeny, West Lothian: Barnbogle Castle  
Property of the Earl of Rosebery. Sold by J. and R. Edmiston,  
Auctioneers, West Nile St., Glasgow, on 12 April 1912, when it was  
bought by Mr James Forrester, Bookseller, Royal Exchange,  
Glasgow, for £10.

31½" × 24". Arched top, with elaborately decorated brown and  
black borders including leaves, swags of fruit and mythical  
animals. Text in two columns. Some initials illuminated in gold and  
brown.

"Writtin by John Laurie writer in Edinburgh".

Glasgow Determination at foot of text, and references in the  
heading to acts etc. of August 1639. Title reads "The Confession of  
Faith and Covenant of the Kirk of Scotland". Framed.

Unsigned, and perhaps unique in being a decorated text on  
parchment not intended for signature: no room is left for them  
below the text, though it is possible that there was an area for  
signatures at the bottom which has been cut off.

Hewison 3, no. 55.

Hewison 4: description.

5.2 Dalmeny, West Lothian: Barnbogle Castle  
Property of the Earl of Rosebery. Sold for £135 at the sale of  
Burton-Constable Mss on 26 June 1889, and then evidently  
acquired for Barnbogle though the name of the purchaser was not  
disclosed.

28" × 27". Text in two columns, with space at foot of right hand  
column for signature. Framed.

Glasgow Determination.

Signed by Charles II at his coronation at Scone, 1 January 1651, his signature being prefaced by an oath promising to uphold the covenants. He had sworn this oath kneeling, with his right hand uplifted, before he signed the covenants (Hewison, *Covenanters*, ii, 28). Endorsed "National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant subscribed by King Charles at his coronation. Anno 1651".

Hewison 3, no. 54.

J. Paton, *Scottish National Memorials* (Glasgow, 1890), 97, n. 1: description.

J. M. Forbes, *History of the Primrose-Rosebery Family, 1500-1900* (London, 1907), 108-9.

5.3 Haddington: Lennoxlove House (Museum)  
Property of the Duke of Hamilton, and presumably originally in Hamilton Palace. For another covenant formerly in the Hamilton Archives see 1.17.

Printed, in two columns, on two sheets of parchment of about 14" × 19" and 14" × 17". A third sheet, 14" × 7½", is glued on after the end of the text to provide additional space for signatures. The end of the document is attached to a wooden roller, and the top is attached to a bar of wood curved to fit neatly the curve of the rolled document. The printed text is identical with that of 2.13. A few phrases in the text have been underlined in ink, and in three cases asterisks appear in the margin opposite lines — in one case opposite the only use of the word "Covenant" in the document. Some tears. Hung in a wooden case.

No Glasgow Determination.

26 signatures, nearly all those of nobles (led by the Earl of Eglinton), are scattered in the left and right hand margins and (in three cases) at the bottom on the third sheet.

5.4 Pencaitland, East Lothian: Saltoun House  
Property of Mr Andrew D. T. Fletcher. Formerly in Saltoun Hall. Exhibited at 7 Charlotte Square, Edinburgh, August-September 1950.

39" × 23". Arched top and elaborately decorated border containing circles (squares at corners) for signatures. About nine inches below the bottom of the frame left for signatures. Title etc. illuminated in gold. Framed.

"Written be William Aytoun, maison".

Glasgow Determination in oval at bottom of border. The heading includes references to the acts of August 1639 etc. and to the covenant now being signed in 1639.

The circle at top centre reads "The subscriptions of Noblemen", and the circles and squares contain about 50

signatures — though a few in the bottom of the border are not of nobles but ministers. The area at the bottom outside the frame is headed "The subscriptions of Barrons, Gentlemen, Burgesses, Ministers and Commons. Below are over 50 signatures of lairds, burgesses and mimisters". Signed mainly or entirely in Edinburgh.

Hewison 3, no. 43\*.

Laing, no. 25.

5.5 South Queensferry: Queensferry Burgh Chambers Museum  
From the archives of the burgh.

29" × 28". Neckpiece at bottom. Framed.

No Glasgow Determination.

About 83 signatures, 23 of them through a notary. The parish minister signs first, and all the others are probably those of inhabitants of the burgh (they include the two baillies, the schoolmaster, burgesses, a tailor and a boatman). This would appear to be the burgh council's covenant rather than the parish's, and a four-inch gap between the end of the text and the signatures may indicate that it was intended to get leading covenanters to sign subsequently, thus reversing the normal process of having them sign in Edinburgh before the covenant was distributed to a locality.

## 6. BORDERS

6.1 Gordon, Berwickshire: Mellerstain House  
Property of the Earl of Haddington. For another covenant formerly at Mellerstain see 16.4.

30" × 25½". Arched top and elaborate border illuminated in gold and brown, containing circles and squares for signatures. The arch contains the coat of arms, supporters, crest and motto of the second Earl of Haddington (flanked by human-headed scaly monsters). Framed.

"Written be William Aytoun maison".

Glasgow Determination in oval at bottom. Heading refers to acts of August 1639 etc.

About 21 legible signatures, and traces of a few more. The circles in the arched top are all blank. A circle on the left contains Buchan's signature, circles on the right those of Cassillis and Haddington. The rest of the signatures are in the circles and squares at the bottom: mainly lairds, but also a few ministers. Signed partly or entirely in East Lothian.

6.2 Hawick: Roxburgh District Council Museum,  
Wilton Lodge

Formerly in Cavers House, Roxburghshire. The male line of the Douglasses of Cavers became extinct in 1878 with the death of James Douglas. The estate passed to his niece, Mary Malcolm, who married Captain Edward Palmer, and the covenant was in the



possession of Captain Palmer-Douglas of Cavers in 1885. Later in Midgard House, Hawick. The family sold it at Christie's, London in 1978 for £500 to the Museum.

35½" × 30". Neckpiece at bottom. Framed.

"Writtin be Johne Trotter servitor to Mr George Trotter w[rite]r to his majesties signet".

No Glasgow Determination

Over 150 signatures, headed by leading nobles and including Sir William Douglas of Cavers, his son Archibald, other eastern and central border lairds and their dependants, and ministers from the same area. Endorsed "Confession of Faith and Band of Union", with "For Tividail" added in a different hand.

Hewison 3, no. 47.

J. A. H. Murray, "Teviotdale signatures to the Solemn League and Covenant [sic]", *Transactions of the Hawick Archaeological Society*, i (1863), 18-19: description and many signatures.

D. Stewart, *The Covenanters of Teviotdale and Neighbouring Districts* (Galashiels, 1908), 17-19: description and some signatures.

*Important Literary and Musical Manuscripts and Autograph Letters* (sale catalogue, Christie's, 5 July 1978), 5: description.

## 7. DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY

7.1\*

Dumfries: Dumfries Museum

Presented by Mrs Dickson, Greenbank, Perth, to the Ewart Library, Dumfries. Mrs Dickson was descended from a commissary of Dumfries.

26" × 22".

Written by William Ramsay, commissary clerk of Dumfries.

Glasgow Determination.

284 signatures, including: those of many Dumfriesshire landlords; those of nearly all the ministers of the presbyteries of Dumfries, Annan, Lochmaben and Penpont, and two of Langholm; and those of many parishioners and indwellers of Caerlaverock and Ruthwell.

Hewison 3, no. 39.

Hewison, 4.

*Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art and Science: Palace of History: Catalogue of Exhibits* (2 vols., Glasgow, 1911), i, 447: description.

*TDGNHAS*, new series, v (1886-87), 79-80: description and all signatures, but the latter are "very inaccurate".

*TDGNHAS*, 3rd series, i (1912-13), 360-62: description and all signatures.

Gatehouse of Fleet: Cardoness House Property of Mr R. W. Rainsford-Hannay of Kirkdale and that ilk. Formerly in the charter chest of the Maxwells of Cardoness. For other covenants from the same archive see 2.12 and 2.13. Four sheets of paper, 14" × 12", glued together to form a roll. A fifth sheet, now lost, probably carried additional signatures. Rolled.

"Wrytten be Patrick Garrock, wryter in Wigtoune".

277 signatures. All but about 50 sign through notaries. The holograph signatures are almost exact duplicates of those on 2.12 and those notarially attested are exact duplicates except that those at the end 2.12 are missing, presumed to have been originally repeated here on the lost fifth sheet.

G. W. Shirley, "A Unique Example of the National Covenant of 1638", *TDGNHAS*, 3rd series, ii (1913-14), 114, 254-6: description and transcript of signatures.

A. S. Morton, *Galloway and the Covenanters* (Paisley, 1914), 467-77: description and transcripts of signatures.

## 8. STRATHCLYDE

8.1 Ayr: Ayrshire Subregion Archives, CH.2/104/1, Minutes of the Kirk Session of Dundonald, 1602-12, 1628-43 11¾" × 7¾". Paper.

Written by Mr John Fleming, session clerk.

A minute of the kirk session of 19 January 1640 is followed by a long statement by Fleming, the session clerk, explaining that he is copying the covenant, as signed at Dundonald on 25 March 1638, into the minute book in accordance with an act of 1 January of the presbytery of Ayr which instructed all parishes to do this. All without exception had signed the covenant with "cheirfulness of countenance, teares, and all expressioun of joy that the gravitie of the meitting could admitt". By the covenant God was pleased "to receave this land into covenant with himself, more formallie then any other people we hear of since the rejecting of his old people the jews' (f. 146v). After copying the (parchment?) original was put into the session box to be preserved (f. 150r). The text of the covenant (ff.146v-149r) is followed by the "signatures" of the minister, local lairds, and parishioners (43 in all), followed by 139 subscriptions through John Fleming, the session clerk, as he was a notary (ff.149v-150r).

Minute Book, ff.1d-1e: transcript (19th century?) of all signatures.

Hewison 3, no. 58.

Houston, *Literacy*, 86, 87, 291: description.

R. Mitchison, *Life in Scotland* (London, 1978), 43.

8.2                      Ayr: Ayrshire Subregion Archives, CH.2/562/1,  
Kirkoswald Kirk Session Minutes, 1617-60, 1694-1755  
11½" × 7". Paper. Many signatures very faint.

Glasgow Determination.

A minute of the kirk session of 9 February 1640 ordered the copying of the covenant and subscriptions into the minute book, presumably from a parchment original (f.24r). The text (ff.24v-28r) is followed by the "signatures" of about 16 nobles, followed by many "signatures" of parishioners — many through a notary (ff. 28r-29r).

8.3                      Glasgow: Art Gallery and Museum, Kelvingrove  
Bought from David Pullsifer for £50.

28" × 37". Two holes, and a strip (which might have contained signatures) probably cut off lower edge. Framed.

Glasgow Determination: added subsequently to the text, below most signatures. Many signatures, including about 20 nobles, 60 lairds and 70 ministers.

Hewison 3, no. 36\*.

J. Paton, *Scottish National Memorials* (Glasgow, 1890), 90: description and some signatures.

8.4                      Glasgow: Mitchell Library, A 5100  
33¼" × 30¼". Border decorated in black and white, first two words of text in gold. Very similar in appearance to 4.2. Framed.

"Written be John Laurie" (not William Laurie, as Hewison states).

Glasgow Determination (added subsequently?).

No signatures.

Hewison 3, no. 38.

8.5                      Glasgow: Mitchell Library, A 5100 a  
Bought for £100 in April 1875 at the sale of the library of John Young, FSA.

21" × 27¼".

No Glasgow Determination.

About 150 signatures, headed by nobles. 78 "parochineris of Bigger" sign on the back through a notarial attestation dated Biggar 1638, and most of the signatures on the front are probably also from Biggar.

Hewison 3, no. 38\*.

A transcript of the signatures is kept with the ms.

## 9. CENTRAL

9.1                      Dunblane: Lady Chapel (Chapter House),  
Dunblane Cathedral  
Preserved by the Peirsons of Kippenross. James Peirson of Kippenross, minister of Dunblane and dean of the cathedral, was

one of the signatories of this copy of the covenant. It was taken to Australia by a descendant of his, William Pearson, in 1841, and brought back to Scotland from Tasmania in 1949 by J. H. Cockburn.

24½" × 24½". Framed (built into the wall panelling and covered by shutters).

No Glasgow Determination.

86 signatures (including two duplicated) headed by leading nobles. The rest of the signatures are mainly those of lairds and ministers; a number are from the Dunblane area, indicating that the covenant was partly signed there. A reduced facsimile is displayed in the Cathedral Museum.

J. H. Cockburn, "The Scottish National Covenant, 1638", *The Society of Friends of Dunblane Cathedral*, v (1946-48), 96-97: description and photographs.

J. H. Cockburn, "The Dunblane Copy of the National Covenant of 1638", *The Society of Friends of Dunblane Cathedral*, vii (1954-57), 6-15: description, photographs and all signatures.

SRO, RH.1/2/458: photographs of signatures.

## 10. FIFE

### 10.1 Dunfermline: St Andrew's — Erskine Parish Church (Vestry)

Probably among the kirk session records of Dunfermline until about 1740 when the parish minister, Ralph Erskine, was deposed as he had joined the Associate Presbytery. He presumably took this copy of the covenant from the kirk session records and gave it to the Secession congregation which he founded, the Queen Anne Street Church. This United Presbyterian congregation (as it had become) accepted the union with the Free Church to form the United Free Church in 1900, which in turn united with the Church of Scotland in 1929. The Erskine church was merged with that of St Andrews some years ago.

37" × 34". Framed.

No Glasgow Determination.

Several hundred signatures, some through notaries. The first signature is that of the Earl of Dunfermline, but no other nobles sign, and it was probably signed exclusively in the parish of Dunfermline.

Hewison 3, no. 53\*.

E. Henderson, *The Annals of Dunfermline* (Glasgow, 1879), 302-03: mention.



## 11. TAYSIDE

11.1 Blair Atholl: Blair Castle  
Property of the Duke of Atholl. On display in "Earl John's Room".

29" × 26". Neckpiece at bottom. Framed.

Glasgow Determination at the top of the back, above the signatures.

Several hundred signatures, on front and back, headed by leading nobles. Some of the signatures on the back duplicate those on the front. An endorsement on the back suggests that this covenant may have been carried by the Marquis of Montrose on one of his expeditions. Detailed study of the signatures has not been undertaken, but many of them are those of men from Aberdeenshire, eastern Inverness-shire and other areas of the North East, and it is thus quite possible that it is one of the covenants brought north by the army under Montrose which imposed signature of the document in the area in April 1639 and the months that followed. The lack of the Glasgow Determination immediately after the text may in this case not indicate that the covenant was originally signed in 1638, but that it was left off in an attempt to make signature less obnoxious to reluctant episcopalians — while those who didn't object to the Determination could sign on the back under a reference to it.

11.2 Blairgowrie: Ardblair Castle  
Property of Mr Laurence Blair-Oliphant.

23½" × 25". A strip, perhaps containing more signatures, has been cut off the bottom. Framed.

No Glasgow Determination.

10 nobles and about 100 others sign. Perhaps signed partly in Fife and Angus.

SRO List, no. 46.

SRO, File T/212.

11.3 Brechin: Balnamoon  
Property of Colonel David Carnegie-Arbuthnott.

29" × 25½". Neckpiece at bottom. A few small holes. Framed.

Glasgow Determination as part of original text.

About 350 to 400 signatures (about half through a notary), headed by many leading nobles. They and some lairds etc. signed in Edinburgh (as did the covenant's two authors, Alexander Henderson and Johnston of Wariston), after which most signatures were added in the North East. These "local" signatures range from Angus in the south (Erskine of Dun) to the Black Isle in the north (Mackenzie of Redcastle), but the great majority are from Aberdeenshire. Many ministers of the shire sign, along with some Aberdeen burgesses, and university and school staff: John Lundie

(grammarian at King's College); Patrick Innes (sacrist there); David Wedderburn (master of the grammar school of Aberdeen); James Boyd (a doctor of the grammar school); Leslie (master of the English school). Thus this copy of the covenant was probably one of those brought to Aberdeen by a covenanting army in April 1639, when subscription was enforced under threat of plundering.

Hewison 3, no. 40\*.

*Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art and Science: Palace of History: Catalogue of Exhibits* (2 vols., Glasgow, 1911), i, 446-47: description and some signatures.

## 12. GRAMPIAN

12.1                      Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Library, Ms. 2927  
Bought at Sotheby's, London, in 1977 for £220.

29½" × 25". Neckpiece at bottom.

J. Nicoll signs on the back of the neckpiece.

Glasgow Determination added subsequently, squeezed in between text and signatures, and repeated near the bottom below most signatures.

Over 100 signatures (headed by 15 nobles), including many Aberdeenshire lairds and ministers. many signatures at the bottom are in the same hand, but there is no notarial attestation. Endorsed as confession of faith for the parish of Echt, Aberdeenshire.

*Catalogue of Valuable Autograph Letters, Literary Manuscripts, Historical Documents and Literary Relics and Portraits* (Sotheby's sale, 5-6 July 1977), p. 21: description.

12.2                      Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Library, Ms. 3004, Fraser  
of Philorth Papers, in Bundle 538  
Formerly in Cairnbulg Castle, near Fraserburgh.

29" × 24½". Neckpiece at bottom.

James Cheyne signs on the back of the neckpiece.

Glasgow Determination added subsequently.

Over 100 signatures (headed by 14 nobles), including those of many Aberdeenshire lairds and ministers. Thomas Abernethie signs as "sometyme Jesuit but now penitant sinner" and member of "the true reformed church of God in Scotland". Mr William Guild signs "according to the explanation of the Assemblie", presumably meaning the Glasgow Determination.

12.3                      Forres: Darnaway Castle  
In the Earl of Moray's Muniments, Box 4, no. 923.

39" × 39". Some tears and holes, but most signatures clear.  
Neckpiece at foot.

"Writtin be Thom[as] Inglis nottar". James Cheyne signs on the back of the neckpiece.

No Glasgow Determination.

Hundreds of signatures, led by Rothes, Montrose and other leading nobles, but mainly lairds, burgesses and ministers from Moray and the far north.

At the end of March 1638 the covenanters in Edinburgh decided to send a delegation led by the Earl of Sutherland north to get the covenant signed in Morayshire, Inverness-shire, Ross-shire, Caithness and Sutherland. Under the supervision of this delegation the covenant was signed on 25-26 April in Inverness, on 28 April in Forres, and on 30 April in Elgin, lairds and chiefs assembling in these burghs with their servitors with ministers and representatives from the smaller northern burghs. More than one copy of the covenant may have been signed, but this was clearly the main one. It is a highly impressive tribute to the success of the covenanters in obtaining signatures in the north — from Mackenzies, Sinclairs, Munros, Rosses, Grants, Frasers, Dunbars and Robertsons. The detailed surviving report on this “Northland diligence” means that the process of signing this covenant can be followed in greater detail than that for any other copy. (Rothes, *Relation*, 98, 104-10; J. Spalding, *Memorialls of the Trubles*, Spalding Club 1850-51, i, 87-88; Sir W. Fraser (ed.), *The Sutherland Book*, Edinburgh, 1892, ii, 169-70; C. Innes (ed.), *A Genealogical Deduction of the Family of Rose of Kilravock*, Spalding Club 1848, 321-22.

NRA (S), Survey 0217, Earl of Moray Mss, Darnaway Castle (1967), p. 9.

### 13. HIGHLAND

13.1\*

Nairn: Glenferness House

Property of the Earl of Leven. Formerly in Melville House, Collessie, when it was owned by G. Millbank Leslie Melville.

34" × 30". Decorated black and white border. First letter of text illuminated in gold and black, and some words in gold and red. Framed.

Written by John Laurie, writer in Edinburgh.

Glasgow Determination (presumably, as Hewison dates it 1639).

About 72 signatures of nobles, lairds and burgesses, the third being that of Sir Alexander Leslie. Some signatures of Leslie and Melville families.

Hewison 3, no. 51.

Hewison 4: description and most signatures.

### 14. ENGLAND

14.1

London: British Library, Add. Ch. 1380

Presented by G. B. Tyndale, 11 November 1837.

33" × 26". Neckpiece at bottom. Several holes (repaired). Very poor condition.

No Glasgow Determination.

Many hundreds of signatures (headed by nobles) below text and almost filling the back, the latter being mainly through notaries, who date their attestations from Peebles, Stobo, Eddleston, Skirling, Newlands and Traquair, late March-early April 1638.

Hewison 3, no. 45\*.

Houston, *Literacy*, 287: description.

14.2 London: British Library, Add. Ch. 5961  
Endorsed "From Bp Butler's libry. July 1841".

About 30" × 26". Neckpiece at bottom. Several small holes.

Faint signature on neckpiece: "Nicoll"?

Glasgow Declaration: reference to it added subsequently below most signatures.

About 150 signatures, mainly those of nobles, lairds and ministers. Some sign through a notary. Mid eighteenth century financial accounts have been written on back.

14.3 London: British Library, Add. Ms. 4851  
Presented by Dr David Macbride of Dublin, 13 September 1771.

46" × 38". Neckpiece at bottom. Several holes (repaired). Rolled.

"Written be Williame Cummine in Edinburgh".

No Glasgow Determination.

Over 1,000 signatures (headed by nobles, lairds, burgesses and ministers). Some signatures dated Glasgow 3 March (?) 1638, and it seems likely that many signatures are from that burgh. Only a few sign through a notary.

Hewison 3, no. 46\*.

*The British Library. Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts, 1756-1782* (London, 1977), 234: description and some signatures.

14.4 Oxford: Bodleian Library, Ms. e. Museo 247  
Presented by General Charles Ross of Balnagown in 1728. Ross acquired the lands of Balnagown from his brother, Lord Ross, in about 1713.

31½" × 27½". Floral decoration on edges and some words illuminated in red and gold.

Written by John Laurie, writer in Edinburgh.

Glasgow Determination added subsequently at the end of the text, with references to the acts of the Privy Council and General Assembly of 30 August 1639 added subsequently to the heading.

28 signatures, nearly all of nobles.

Hewison 3, no. 48\*.

F. Madan (ed.), *A Summary Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, v (Oxford, 1905), 332: description.



14.5 Oxford: Bodleian Library, Clarendon Ms. 40, f.80  
This covenant was among the public records of Scotland in Stirling Castle which were captured by the English in 1651 and taken to London. When, after the Restoration of monarchy in 1660, arrangements were made to return the records to Scotland a secret search was first made so that documents embarrassing to Charles II (who had signed the covenants but had no intention of adhering to them) could be found and removed. Once located this copy was secretly handed to the Lord Hyde (later Earl of Clarendon), the Lord Chancellor of England, and it has remained among his papers ever since.

30½" × 24½".

Text of both the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant. Signed by Charles II on board ship at the mouth of the Spey on 23 June 1650. Endorsed by Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston (clerk register) as read in parliament on 1 July; and by Andrew Ker (clerk of the General Assembly) as read in the assembly on 12 July 1650.

Hewison, *Covenanters*, i, 491, no. 2; ii, 2n, and opp. p. 2: descriptions and photographs.

W. D. Macray, *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers preserved in the Bodleian Library*, ii (Oxford, 1869), 64, 67.

D. Stevenson, "The English and the Public Records of Scotland, 1650-1660", *Miscellany One* (Stair Society, 1971), 163-64.

14.6 Abingdon, Oxford: Marcham Manor, Appleford  
Property of Mr Gervase Duffield, who purchased it as part of a mixed lot at Christie's, London. It was torn into two pieces when Mr Duffield acquired it, and was being repaired when this list went to press. Thus details are not available.

Large sheet of parchment.

Many signatures.

## 15. OVERSEAS

15.1 Canada: The Library, Knox College, Toronto  
According to Hewison this covenant was formerly in Prestonfield House, Edinburgh, the home of the family of Sir William Dick, a leading covenanting merchant. In 1906 the covenant was sold by Mr W. Brown, bookseller, 26 Prince's St., Edinburgh, for £27 to the Hon. W. M. Clark, Lieutenant Governor of Ontario. A note with the covenant states that it was presented to Knox College by the Rev. Charles W. Gordon, D.D., in May 1906.

38" × 39½". Title separated from text by two fish with intertwined tails. On the left a pelican pecks its breast. The opening words of the text are illuminated in gold, and a double border surrounds the whole sheet. Framed.

“Written by John Laurie writer in Edinburgh”. James Cheyne signs at the foot, well below the other signatures (thus misleading Hewison into stating that he actually wrote this copy of the covenant).

Glasgow Determination.

105 signatures (19 nobles, 50 lairds, 36 ministers).

Hewison 3, no. 44\*.

Hewison 4.

## 16. MISSING, LOST, SUPPOSITITIOUS

16.1

*Possibly seen in Cheshire*

Dr W. M. McMillan, St Leonard's Parish, Dunfermline, stated that he had seen a copy of the National Covenant, signed at Kilmarnock, in Cheshire, but the reference must be regarded as doubtful: a second supposed unknown copy he reported (in Montrose) is in fact a Solemn League and Covenant.

J. H. Cockburn, “The Scottish National Covenant, 1638”, *The Society of Friends of Dunblane Cathedral*, v (1946-48), 97: mention.

16.2

*Formerly in Dundas Castle, West Lothian*

Sold at Dowell's Auction Rooms, 18 George St., Edinburgh, on 30 January 1928. A fire in 1933 destroyed virtually all Dowell's records. For another covenant formerly at Dundas Castle see 4.4.

About 90 signatures, dated between 1 March and the end of December 1638, about 40 from parish of Dalmeny. Endorsed “For the Parochine of Dalmenie”.

Account, no. 20.

Hewison 3, no. 60.

Hewison 4: cutting of description from printed sale catalogue.

16.3

*Formerly in Duns Castle, Berwickshire*

Sold by Mrs Hay of Duns Castle at Christie's in London in 1972 for £500, to the Hon. J. W. Leslie, then living in Brechin and subsequently in Farnham, Surrey. Mr Leslie sold the covenant at Christie's in 1979, it being bought by “Nothes” for £350. Framed. 29½" × 24½". Neckpiece at bottom.

“Writtin be Johne Trotter nottar publict”.

No Glasgow Determination.

About 100 signatures, headed by 17 nobles. Some sign through a notary.

Hewison 3, no. 35.

[J. Paton], *Scottish History and Life* (Glasgow, 1902), 100: description.

J. W. Brown, *Covenanters of the Merse* (Edinburgh, 1893), 82: all signatures.

SRO, RH.1/2/622: photograph of end of text and signatures.

*Medieval and Later Manuscripts, Printed Books* (Christie's catalogue for sale 28 June 1972), 45: description.

*Valuable Autograph Letters and Manuscripts* (Christie's catalogue for sale 4 April 1979), 15: description.

16.4      *Formerly Earlston, Berwickshire: Village Reading Room*  
Formerly in Mellerstain House. Presented to village of Earlston by the Earl of Haddington. A framed copy of the text of the covenant, plus a transcript of the signatures, is still in the Reading Room, but the whereabouts of the original is unknown.

26¼" × 25". Damaged by damp, with some holes. Framed.

Glasgow Determination added below most signatures.

About 108 signatures, headed by nobles and lairds. Signed mainly by inhabitants of Earlston.

Hewison 3, no. 50.

Hewison 1, no. 58: some signatures.

SRO, RH.1/2/456: reduced photograph.

16.5      *Formerly in Edinburgh University Library, Divinity  
Section (New College Library)*

Unsigned.

Recorded in Hewison 2, no. 27 as missing, and a letter from New College in Hewison 4 confirmed that it had "gone amissing".

16.6      *Formerly in possession of David Hunter, SSC, Edinburgh*  
Exhibited in Parliament House in April 1884. Signed by Charles II and representatives of the three estates of parliament and of the church.

*The Scotsman*, 17 April 1884, p. 4: description.

16.7      *Formerly in possession of David Laing, Edinburgh*  
Exhibited by Laing to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1847.

"Has the usual signatures".

Laing, no. 16.

16.8      *Formerly in possession of David Laing, Edinburgh*  
Exhibited by Laing to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1847.

Signed by about 22 nobles and "a great many" barons and commissioners of burghs, and some ministers. Endorsed as being for the laird of Dun and his parishioners, so presumably partly signed in the parish of Dun.

Laing, no. 17.

16.9      *Formerly in possession of Miss Pearson, Edinburgh*  
A covenant belonging to Miss Pearson, 5 Pitt Street was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland on 14 May 1887.

Signed by leading nobles and by some lairds and ministers. Dated November 1638. *PSAS* xii lists seventeen signatories, and 14 of them also sign the Dunblane Cathedral covenant. Admittedly many are prominent individuals who signed many copies, but one is James Peirson of Kippenross, minister of Dunblane, whose descendents preserved 9.1. The possibility that this covenant is also connected with Dunblane seems strengthened by it being in the hands of a Miss Pearson. It is possible that both copies were preserved in the same family, passing to different branches in the nineteenth century.

Hewison 3, no. 63.

D. Laing, "Note of Two Original Documents, with Signatures, Exhibited to the Meeting: I. The National Covenant, November 1638: II. The Common or Godly Band, December 1557", *PSAS*, xii (1876-78), 216: description and some signatures.

16.10

*Formerly in Fonthill House, Wiltshire*

Was in the possession of Alfred Morrison, whose collections were dispersed in a number of sales at Sotheby's in 1917-19. Not mentioned in the *Catalogue* of manuscripts collected by Morrison between 1865 and 1882 (6 vols., London, 1882-92).

"On a single large skin".

Numerous signatures, headed by leading nobles (Montrose being the first).

Hewison 3, no. 42.

Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Ninth Report, Part II* (London, 1884), appendix, p. 431: reference.

16.11

*Formerly in Glasgow University Library*

In possession of William Wardrop, surgeon, Grassmarket, Edinburgh, in the early eighteenth century. Presented by Mr James Wardrop, merchant in Glasgow, 20 May 1782. Formerly in a drawer in a table in the old library committee room, but missing for many years.

33½" × 24". Neckpiece at bottom.

No Glasgow Determination.

Many signatures, but none of nobles. may have been signed partly in Argyllshire.

Hewison 3, no. 37\*.

Account, no. 10.

16.12

*Formerly in Hardwicke Court, near Gloucester*

Was in the possession of Miss Olive Lloyd-Baker. The Lloyd-Baker papers are now deposited in Gloucestershire Record Office, but the covenant cannot now be traced either there or at Hardwicke Court. The SRO acquired a photograph in 1960, in which year the covenant was lent to an exhibition on the civil war.

30" × at least 23½". Some initials decorated.



James Cheyne signs on the back of the neckpiece.

Signed by twenty nobles and about fifty others, mainly lairds.  
perhaps signed partly in Fife.

SRO, RH.1/2/459: photograph.

16.13      *Formerly in Ingerthorpe Grange, Markington, Leeds*  
Hewison 3 records this copy as at Ingerthorpe Grange, and the house was then owned by a Major Mitchell. This was Surgeon-Major Henry Mitchell, J.P., late of the 2nd Life Guards (son of Sir Henry Mitchell, Park Field House, Bradford, 1823-98), who died on 15 December 1916 leaving his son Gordon what was described as "the original" copy of the National Covenant. On the death of Mr Gordon Mitchell, Jedwells, Camelford, Cornwall, in 1962 the covenant passed to his son, Mr Henry Mitchell, of Springfields, Chelmsford, Essex. He stated in 1962 that it had been in his family's possession for nearly 200 years, having passed to his great grandmother through female relatives whose ancestors had been presbyterian ministers.

36" × 31" and 21" × 31". Two sheets of parchment sewn together.

"Written be Johne Achesoun one of the writers of His Majesties Chancellerie".

Glasgow Determination below text, with summary on the second sheet.

The first sheet has the signatures of about 45 nobles, 260 lairds, 150 burgesses, 100 ministers, and 3-400 others (though Hewison 3 stated it had only about 300 signatures in all). Second sheet has about 500 signatures. Probably signed partly in Roxburghshire.

Hewison 3, no. 49.

Hewison 4: description.

SRO List, 69.

*Glasgow Herald*, 12 March 1917 (cutting in Hewison 4): description.

*Scottish Daily Express*, 18 September 1962, p. 5: description.

16.14      *Formerly Langton House, Berwickshire (Charter Room)*  
Property in 1872 of Lady Elizabeth Pringle, the widow of Sir John Pringle of Stichell whose title had passed to a son by his previous marriage. On Lady Elizabeth's death in 1878 Langton House passed to her daughter Mary, who married the Hon. Robert Baillie Hamilton (son of the 10th Earl of Haddington), who died without issue in 1891.

33½" × 23½". Ornamented border (including several pairs of stylised fish) with arch at the top. Text written in two columns, with some capitals illuminated. Space left for signatures at the bottom of the right hand column.

Glasgow Determination.

“Written be John Laurie writer in Edinburgh”.

About 50 signatures of leading nobles, lairds and burgesses.

Hewison 3, no. 33, note\*.

*Scotland, National Manuscripts: Facsimiles* (3 vols., Edinburgh, 1867-72), iii, p. xx and item no. xcvi: reduced facsimile and transcript, including signatures.

*Confession of Faith* (no publisher or date): facsimile (NLS, Pr. 1. c. 2).

16.15

*Formerly in Penicuik House, Midlothian*

Hewison records it as “undiscoverable”, but Laing had seen it in or before 1847. Clerk of Penicuik Mss. are now in the SRO (GD.18), but the covenant is not among them, and it is not at Penicuik House. It was probably either sold at one of a series of sales in the 1880s, or burnt in the fire of 1899 at Penicuik House: the library was destroyed though the Charter Room was saved.

Glasgow Determination, and references to the August 1639 supplication and acts (? presumably, as it is said to be dated 1639).

Signed by leading nobles and several lairds, burgesses and ministers. The first signature is that of Sir Alexander Leslie.

Hewison 3, no. 60.

Account, no. 5.

Laing, no. 18.

16.16

*Formerly in Penicuik House, Midlothian*

Provenance as for 16.15 above.

Written in double columns, with 42 circles forming a border and containing the coats of arms of nobles etc.

Glasgow Determination.

Hewison 3, no. 60.

Account, no. 5.

Laing, no. 19.

16.17

*Formerly in possession of Miss Black, Perth*

Deposited in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland by the Trustees of Miss Agnes Black, Perth. But it was not in the museum when its 1892 catalogue was prepared, having evidently been withdrawn by the Trustees. Hewison 4 states that it was subsequently taken to America. It is said that Miss Black's uncle and grandfather were both ministers in Perth. These were presumably Thomas Black (minister 1698-1739) and his son David (1737-71). It is likely that Miss Black inherited the covenant through one or both of them. It is probably the same covenant as that referred to in 1887 as being presented to the museum by H. M. Duncan of Damside and Mr A. Davidson, Perth.  
29½" × 23".

No Glasgow Determination.

Signed by leading nobles and about 100 ministers and lairds.

Hewison 3, no. 12\*.

Hewison 4.

D. Laing, "Notices of Two Original Documents Deposited in the Museum by the Trustees of the late Miss Agnes Black, Perth", *PSAS*, xii (1876-78), 63-64: description and some signatures.

EUL, Laing Mss. iv, 17, letter of 1876 to David Laing.

J. C. Johnston, *Treasury of the Scottish Covenant* (Edinburgh, 1887), p. 633: reference.

16.18 *Formerly in Riccarton House, Currie, Midlothian*

The papers of the Gibson-Craigs of Riccarton were deposited in the SRO (GD.145), but subsequently transferred to the Archives, The Library, Heriot-Watt University, but there is no trace of the covenant among them. The present baronet lives in South America. Sir Alexander Gibson of Durie, ancestor of the Gibsons of Riccarton, was a leading covenanter, becoming clerk register in 1641.

Title and some letters illuminated in gold.

Some signatures, headed by nobles. Said to have been signed on 18 October 1638.

Hewison 3, no. 33\*.

Laing, no. 15: some signatures.

16.19 *Formerly in possession of Mrs Landells*

A letter of 1888 refers to a copy of the covenant in the possession of Mrs Landells, ownership of which was claimed by a Mr Brown. Mrs Landells' first husband, Thomas Henderson, was evidently a descendant of a nephew of Alexander Henderson, one of the authors of the covenant, and this copy of the covenant is said to have descended in the family. Mr Brown (perhaps the David Brown who was minister of St Enoch's Church, Glasgow, from 1859 to 1899) was a nephew of Thomas Henderson. Mrs Landells eventually gave the covenant to Brown, but its whereabouts is now unknown. It was said to have been the original covenant signed at Greyfriars, but this claim has been made for several covenants in the past.

SRO, GD.1/472/1: letter, 3 April 1888, from William Landells, Alloa, to Mr Hunter.

SRO, File T/550: letter, 10 September 1967, from Emma Henderson Hunter (daughter of the Thomas Henderson mentioned above) to Sir James Fergusson.

16.20 *Formerly sold in London*

Sold at Sotheby's, London, in 1974 to Hofman and Freeman, Sevenoaks, Kent, for £140. Sold again at Sotheby's in 1976 (price

and buyer not published), and again in 1977 to Stanley Crowe, London, for £30. Offered for resale in 1978, at £200. It seems likely that this is the covenant already listed as 1.11 above.

32" × 33". Text in a border decorated with fruits and foliage. Stained and partly illegible.

Glasgow Determination, and references in heading to acts and supplications of August 1639.

Signed by Montrose and some other nobles.

*Catalogue of Autograph Letters and Historical Documents* (Sotheby's sale catalogue, 3 December 1974), 11: description.

*Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books, Autograph Letters and Historical Documents* (Sotheby's sale catalogue, 23-4 February 1976), 77: description.

*Catalogue of Autograph Letters and Historical Documents* (Sotheby's sale catalogue, 4 October 1977), 18: description.

*Catalogue 88* (Stanley Crowe, c. May 1978), item 374.

## 17. APPENDIX: COPIES OF THE KING'S COVENANT

17.1 Edinburgh, SRO, SP.13/161  
Formerly State Papers, no. 135.

26" × 12". Two sheets of paper (evidently of different origins) glued together. The covenant is on one sheet, the signature on the other. The Marquis of Huntly signs across the join.

Signed by William Reid, the parish minister of Gartly, the Marquis of Huntly, and about 25 others, with another 50 or so signing through a notary. The signatures are headed "The names of the subscriyveris in the parochin of Gartly".

Hewison 3, no. 24.

17.2 Edinburgh, SRO, SP.13/164  
Formerly State Papers, no. 137.  
10½" × 20½".

A contemporary copy of an original signed by members of the Privy Council (as ordered by the king on 9 September) at Holyroodhouse on 22 September 1638. The copies of signatures agree with the list contained in the register of the Privy Council, except that the signature "F. Hamilton", contained in the register, is not found on this copy — *RPCS, 1638-43*, 64-72. Hewison erroneously gives the date of signature as 20 September.

Hewison 3, no. 26.

17.3 Edinburgh, SRO, SP.13/165  
Formerly State Papers, no. 138.  
13½" × 10¾". Three paper sheets containing an incomplete copy of the King's Covenant.

No signatures.

Hewison 1, no. 26.



17.4                      Edinburgh, SRO, GD.16/57/31, Airlie Muniments  
Paper. A printed copy of the covenant, very badly damaged.  
A few almost illegible signatures.

17.5                      Edinburgh, SRO, GD.16/57/31, Airlie Muniments  
Paper. A printed copy of the covenant.  
Signed at the kirk of Glenisla, 7 December 1638 (27 signatures),  
and at Glencalin (?) and Nether Lethnot, 11 and 13 December 1638  
(4 signatures, headed by Lord Ogilvie, and 17 others through a  
notary).

17.6                      Edinburgh, SRO, GD.16/57/31, Airlie Muniments  
A slip of paper recording that in November 1638 six persons signed  
the King's Covenant through a notary. Perhaps originally attached  
to 17.4 or 17.5.

17.7                      Edinburgh, NLS, Adv. Ms. 34.5.15  
Paper. A printed copy of the covenant.  
913 signatures, including that of the Earl of Southesk, from many  
parishes in Angus.  
Hewison 3, no. 19.

